776 On market day, a gourd filled with river water, called fle ndinye
823 faro, is placed close to the shore where the canoes land. To drink a
782 mouthful of this water is equivalent to a sacrifice to the spirit. The drinker gives a cowrie as alms to the beggar who drew the water, for "never can [Faro's] water be bought or sold" (1).

1. Ma ti dyi fere ma ti dyi sã̃.
See pl. II, b.

At Sama, the faro tyin is a kind of natural corridor located amidst the rocks bordering and overhanging the left bank of the river.
[825] The finches nesting there warn the boatmen of the place's sanctity by flying off; the boatmen then stop to pray. In passing, they throw an offering and those who have broken taboos purify themselves by washing. Each shows the spirit all that he carries with him. Two nearby trees, faro sõ̃ndyiri or "trees of Faro's sacrifice," are used to tie up the white bulls at twilight. The following day, they are thrown alive into the river with millet mash and cola nuts. At the bottom of the passage, on a fairly smooth surface, the image of Faro described above was drawn each year in the course of the ceremony celebrated by the society of the Komo.

/47/ Faro also haunts ponds and wells. In the village of Nango a natural well was revealed to a hunter by a white ram which appeared out of a thicket. The village was built after the discovery of the water hole where the inhabitants now worship the spirit.

In the village of Siyango, the water of the well in which Faro resides is tabooed, the site of the well being the seat of all the religious ceremonies of the villagers. There the newborn are presented,
[755] and deaths and marriages announced. The sick are treated by being made to drink the well water and wash in it. From his herd, each person offers every year an animal which is thrown alive into the pit.
[681] Finally, those condemned to death are executed by drowning in the same spot.

Faro's Auxiliaries

776 Faro has placed spirits as his representatives in the skies, in space,
773 on earth, in the trees, and in the rocks of the mountains. They see

567 well treated; if his captivity continues for a long time, he may
727 even found a family and live like a free man on parole, required only to remain where he is. Time takes care of many things. Under the same circumstances, a woman of quality usually becomes the wife of the conqueror.

People belonging to a caste escape slavery by entering the service of the conqueror to perform their customary trades.

It is only humble people -- the majority -- whose lot is often terrible; dragged far away, sold and resold, they often fall into the hands of bad masters.

567 Theoretically, a female slave's children are always slaves. A child born in slavery belongs to the mother's master and shares her fate. If she is the master's concubine, the child is born free and thereby frees the mother.

A contract slave is not always master of his own fate. Since the fa has absolute authority over his people, it is he who makes the contract which binds them.

• [681] A free individual may fall into slavery as a result of his crimes or misdemeanors (2); it is in this way that an incorrigible

2. Nzan Fato became a slave for stealing a beehive (p. 49 above).

thief becomes the slave of the chief to whom he is sent for punishment.

Many poor people, attracted by the favored lot of the [191] wolo-so in large communities, go into voluntary slavery in hope of a comparable position. All the Sudanese empires had these voluntary slaves, who came in great numbers from all directions.

Where there are many slaves, they form what is called dyon'-kuru or dyon'-futu, depending on the place, that is, "an assembly of slaves," and their leader, who represents them with the master, is an important personage by virtue of their strength. When the community to which these slaves belong is an ancient one, they are divided into groups, each of which is named for the fa under whose authority it was organized. In theory, the leader of each group is its oldest member, and the leader of the

793 provide instruction in deductive divination, which usually requires two years of study.

This clergy is recruited and formed by co-optation, and it includes, besides the persons already mentioned, the muru-kala-tigi (3) or "sacrificer," who kills the victims, and a dyeli

3. Literally, "he who holds the handle of the knife."

or "herald" of the god.

794 The rank and file of the faithful are called nyana-den u, sons of the nyana (1) [Ed., see footnote 1 above]. In order to be accepted as nyana-den', it is necessary [260] to take an oath and to pay an entrance fee. The terms of the oath used in the brotherhoods reveal that, in sum, the nyana-den' promises secrecy, obedience, and solidarity, as we shall show in what follows. Certain aides of the clergy are selected from among the common run of the faithful, for instance, the da-ro-tigi or da-ro-ta-la, who is a kind of beadle.

The Treasury

The performance of liturgical ceremonies is not the only function of the clergy; it also constitutes a kind of council to administer the property of the brotherhood, for the cult is not gratuitous. First, admission to the brotherhood requires the payment of a fee, and the same is true whenever an individual is nominated or promoted to an office. Furthermore, an important contribution, in proportion to the individual's resources, is required for any important ceremony. Finally, fines are imposed on the faithful and even on outsiders as punishment for wrong doings.

794 Fines assume many forms, whether they are to atone for a wrong committed by one of the faithful against the brotherhood or the god, whether an outsider is to be punished similarly for arousing the wrath of the nyana, or for reasons sometimes known only to the clergy who levies them. The nyana-tigi and

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794 his acolytes are exceedingly zealous in discovering wrong-
681 doings and the guilty parties and in requiring material proof of repentance, which they determine and try to multiply since they appropriate the whole profit, albeit abusively. Theoretically, these fines are not very heavy and are paid in kind (fowl, a goat, a dog, some kola nuts, millet, beer), but, when multiplied, they become a heavy burden for the debtor. He cannot evade this method of extortion, because his persecutors, in league against him, use every means, even criminal, to force him to pay.

794 Strictly speaking, all the property belongs to the nyana;
421 it is by rights the common property of the nyana-den' and in
426 principle is not to be privately appropriated nor alienated. It is to be used only for the needs of the cult, for assisting needy members, and in exceptional cases for loans to outsiders at exorbitant interest. For that matter, the nyana-den' who gets a loan from the common fund must repay it [261] as soon as his affairs take a turn for the better and, insofar as possible, add a certain amount in order to show his gratitude. It sometimes happens that an outsider is aided out of the common fund; this is a kind of charity which is both a good advertisement and extremely profitable.

794 The common property is not to be appropriated by any
421 dignitary or member of the brotherhood for his own benefit. Although there is certainly not a single native who is unaware of this regulation (1), it is all too evident that abuses have led

1. Raffenel writes (op. cit., p. 239): "The victims' flesh and other objects become the property of the poor."

to extraordinary perversions. The clergy regularly appropriates the property of the nyana to its own use, and in order to increase the profit, they do not hesitate to commit actual crimes that enable them to exploit the terror they inspire, which they are careful to nurture and to reinforce.

794 clergy. On the other hand, an innocent man will be over-
696 whelmed by mental and physical torture if he is unable to give his executioners what they demand.

681 Corporal punishment includes flogging, chains, starvation, torture, and death by all imaginable methods. Pecuniary punishment includes fines, confiscation, and pillage. The condemned man is also sometimes forced to labor for the clergy or is even enslaved by them.

Social and Political Role of the Brotherhoods

794 By its actions, the brotherhood, an artificial family,
776 tends to take the place of the natural family whose organization
769 it has borrowed and whose cult it has banished. It is easy to account for this.

The cult of the manes is the framework of the family and of the communities derived from it. The brotherhood has cleverly managed to set up such a cult by specially honoring the manes of its high priests, its famous members, and its eminent worshipers. [267]

Gradually, the nyana dugu-da-siri, protector of the territorial community, has given way to the nyana of the boli, a more powerful god since his territory is unlimited.

It is true that in spite of everything the tradition remains, and even though they are largely over-shadowed by the nyana of the boli, the manes of the ancestors and the nyana dugu-da-siri are still venerated. Though sowing and harvesting are celebrated
731 with great pomp by the brotherhoods, still, when a disaster,
782 epidemic, or terrible drought occurs, sacrifices are promptly offered to the manes and the gods of the place. People may fear their anger, but they also have confidence in their good will, and it is felt that their severity can always be tempered. On the other hand, the nyana of the boli are supposed to be basically evil, and their worship seems intended to ward off their malignity rather than to obtain their favor.

794 This duality in religion brings about extremely compli-
621 cated interrelationships which bind the communities and

642
565 3. the free men;

4. people of caste, such as blacksmiths, etc. (see below);

5. slaves.

567 e. Slavery. -- A man became a slave in three ways: by violence, by obligation, or by birth.

567 1. By violence. If a war captive is important, he may be
727 killed or he may be held for ransom and treated with consideration.
554 A Fama captured in war could become an army chief or dignitary in the country of his captor and could found a family there. In no case could he be reduced to captivity on his own territory.

[60] If the vanquished is a man of caste, he is spared captivity and generally enters the service of the conquering Fama;
[608] if he is a sénanku of the victor, the latter gets rid of him by freeing him. Finally, if the captive has the same name as the victorious
[551] Fama, he is freed, because he is recognized as being a relative of the Fama.

When the captive is a free man of humble origin, he is sold by the Fama, unless the Fama gives him to his warriors.

567 2. By obligation. A free individual became a slave in
681 punishment for his crimes or misdemeanors; he was then sold for the
426 profit of the Fama. A fa could sell one of his children to meet his
858 debts, but he subsequently had to try to buy him back once he was freed of his obligations.

567 3. By birth. A woman slave bears only slaves. The slave born in the house is called a wolo-so. If a woman slave is got with child by a free man, she becomes free, as does her child. But if the mother is repudiated, she reverts to slavery, while the child remains free.

567 As the number of slaves grew, their organization became
644 complicated and hierarchic. The slaves under the Fama of Ségou were divided into series, each having as chief the eldest of the slaves. The eldest of these chiefs became chief of the dyon-kuru or dyon-futu (ensemble of slaves). Monteil shows the important role this slave chief has played in the history of Ségou. In fact, he was the spokesman for all the grievances of the slaves and often became the Fama's adviser. At the death of the Fama, the slave chief confirmed the power of his successor by assuring him or refusing him, the submission of all the slaves.

695 [687] False testimony is punished by confiscation of all goods and arrest of the whole family; part of the goods goes to the victim. If the witness refuses to take the oath, his refusal is evidence against the party that called him. When the parties in a trial disagree, the Fama makes one swear on the Komo, on his platform, or on the tomb of the group's founding ancestor. When the oath has been pronounced, the adversary may efface it by taking the oath in his turn. Then judgment will be suspended; but before 40 days have passed the perjurer must die.

[687] Anyone who attempts to suborn a witness or a child will be punished in the same fashion as the false witness.

The Fama must assign to one or several notables the mission of examing the scene where the disputed incident took place; he may designate a notable to examine and evaluate the damages. Once their mission is accomplished, the notables are subject to the same obligations as the witnesses.

693 695 The role of defense attorney was taken by one of the Fama's advisors, a relative, a griot, a blacksmith, or a favorite of the Fama, he who "speaks best." The accused, or someone from his family, approached the prospective defender and offered him a gift, asking him to intervene in his favor. But the counselor had only the power to save the life of the condemned who had to pay a settlement; all punishments other than death were applied.

625 Police functions were carried out by the sofa and by members of the brotherhoods.

b. Punishments

681 The punishments were, in order of descending importance: death, being put in irons permanently or for a set time, the whip, the fine, confiscation of the family, confiscation of goods, sale to the slave traders.

Murderers and inveterate brigands had their heads cut off; [562] spies had their heads shattered by an axe or were bludgeoned (like dogs). A woman was never executed. The Fama who had a woman put to death would have seen his kingdom disappear.

All those condemned to irons were imprisoned in a hut, immobilized, the feet hobbled by a bar fixed to a ring; the patient

681 survived hardly more than 15 days of this punishment. The whip was applied publicly; the lashes, whose number was fixed by the Fama, were given with either a full swing of the arm or by the forearm only. Fines had to be paid immediately, or else the condemned was held for security until his family liquidated the debt.

672 681 The family of a man who had committed a crime or fault was held responsible and could be confiscated and sold; the confiscation of persons involved the confiscation of goods. All those who worked together under the authority of the same head could be confiscated, but not maternal uncles, paternal and maternal aunts of the culprit, nor his married relatives or those on the point of marrying. The confiscation was to the profit of the Fama who compensated the victims. Confiscation [71] of goods includes all furnishings, but not lands or dwellings.

681 Whoever was condemned to slavery had to be sold outside of the country, to the profit of the Fama. It was a practical method of ridding the land of all undesirables.

Finally, any second offender had his punishment doubled.

c. Examples of Condemnations

682 684 685 847 Homicides are condemned to death, but involuntary homicides or cases of legitimate self-defense are excused. A murderer's accomplice is subject to the same penalty as the murderer. One who receives a criminal or stolen goods is punished in the same fashion as the culprit. Rape of a child is punished by death, of a young girl by being put into irons after having paid reparations to her fiancé. A woman who puts her bastard to death will be excused, for her husband may have required her to do it; if she kills her legitimate child, she is punished by death, but not executed. A woman who has an abortion is publicly whipped; when she causes an abortion in another woman, she is condemned to death. A man who usurps the title of a function to which he is not entitled is put to death, as is the charlatan and the sorcerer. Theft of gold is punishable by death; theft of household objects is compensated for by a fine. If, during a brawl between two villages, a member of one village is killed, the aggrieved village designates an individual in the other village to be put to death. If there are several deaths on both side, the number of deaths in the two villages is equalized.

[683 685]